

Director, FBI (Bufile - 100-448131)

3/25/68

SAC, MEMPHIS (100-4528) (P)

**CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE**  
**SM - SNCC; RM**

Re: **Report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE dated 9/29/67 at Memphis and**  
**Report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE dated 3/25/68 at Memphis**

☒ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☐ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name <b>CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE</b>			
Aliases			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien			
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) <b>SNC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee)</b>			
<input type="checkbox"/> Tab for Detcom	Date of birth <b>4/8/44</b>	Place of birth <b>Memphis, Tennessee</b>	Race <b>Negro</b> Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address)  <b>Unemployed</b>			
Key Facility Data			
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____			
Interested Agencies _____			
Residence Address <b>1921 Rile Street, Memphis, Tennessee;</b> <b>234 Ingle Street, Memphis, Tennessee;</b> <b>1644 Hanauer, Apt. 2, Memphis, Tennessee (stays at all 3 places)</b>			

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Memphis

WHL:gmh

(3)

(SEE PAGE 2)

SEARCHED

SERIALIZED

INDEXED

FILED

100-4528-176

ME 100-4528

BASIS FOR RECOMMENDATION ON SECURITY INDEX:

Continuously from 7/5/67 to 3/15/68, ME 338-R(Ghetto) has advised that CABBAGE has been the leader of a SNCC-oriented group in Memphis, Tennessee, and has by his admission made trips to consult with SNCC and black power leaders in Atlanta. Source further advised that on 3/5/68 CABBAGE distributed, at a mass rally at Clayborn Temple, Memphis, a throwaway which quoted a letter from SNCC National Chairman H. RAP BROWN calling for the destruction of the United States and also containing a diagram showing how to prepare Molotov cocktails (fire bombs).

On 2/16/68 CABBAGE admitted to SAs WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE and HOWELL S. LOWE that he is the head of Black Organizing Power (BOP), a SNCC-related black power movement, in Memphis, Tennessee.

On 9/13/67 [ ] advised that on 9/12/67 COBY VERNON SMITH, close associate of CABBAGE, said BOP is actually SNCC and that SNCC gave him authority to use the name BOP as Memphians were generally skeptical and suspicious of SNCC.

On 11/22/67 ME 338-R (Ghetto) advised that at a BOP meeting held at LeMoyne College, Memphis, on 11/22/67 CABBAGE and his associates intimidated white professors and talked of getting guns.

On 11/20/67 [ ] advised that at a 11/16/67 BOP meeting at Owen College, Memphis, CABBAGE implied violence would occur in Memphis; accused capitalism of being synonymous with white power and, accordingly, has to be destroyed; told the audience how to make Molotov cocktails and said "The black man must overthrow capitalism by any means necessary"; and said the black man should not fight in Vietnam as it is a war of white man versus black man.

On 12/28/67 [ ] (PROB-Ghetto), advised CABBAGE is leader of SNCC-oriented group in Memphis and makes trips to Atlanta to bring back SNCC literature.

On 1/5/68 CABBAGE advised SAs ORVILLE V. JOHNSON and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that he was not formally affiliated with SNCC but followed SNCC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, the current National Chairman of SNCC. He advised that he was "organizing young militant blacks in the community" and said he had already organized at three colleges in Memphis. He admitted he had made statements to the effect that he would like to see Memphis burn and would like to see a good riot, but he claimed these were merely figures of speech calculated to shock the community.

ME 100-4528

On 2/15/68 CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, an associate of CABBAGE and a self-admitted member of the Governing Body of BOP, advised SAs WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE and HOWELL S. LOWE that BOP is affiliated with SNCC and that CABBAGE had attended a January, 1968, SNCC conference in Atlanta, Georgia.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>MEMPHIS</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>MEMPHIS</b>	DATE <b>3/25/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>9/23/67-3/18/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE  <b>CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE</b>	TYPED BY <b>GMH</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>SM - SNCC; RM</b>	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE at Memphis, 9/29/67.

ENCLOSURE (1) TO ATLANTA DIVISION:

One photograph of CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED <b>NONE</b>						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE: <b>ALL COPIES REGISTERED MAIL</b>						SEARCHED <i>[initials]</i>		
5 - Bureau (100-448131) (RM)						SERIALIZED <i>[initials]</i>		
1 - G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Ga. (RM)						INDEXED <i>[initials]</i>		
1 - 111th MI, 3rd Army, Nashville, Tenn.						FILED <i>[initials]</i>		
1 - 111th MI, 3rd Army, Memphis, Tenn.								
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, Tenn.								
1 - Atlanta (Info) (Enc. 1)								
3 - Memphis (100-4528)								
Dissemination Record of Attached Report						Notations		
Agency						<i>100-4528-127</i>		
Request Recd.								
Date Fwd.								
How Fwd.								
By								



ME 100-4528

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

File Where Located

T-1 is  
ME 338-R(Ghetto)

ME 170-70 Sub

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T-2 is  
MARJORIE MOORE  
Security Division,  
Southern Bell Telephone  
and Telegraph Company,  
Memphis, Tenn.

ME 100-4528

T-3 is  
EUNICE HOLLOWAY, Chief Clerk,  
Selective Service Board #83,  
Memphis, Tenn.

ME 100-4528-68

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" -71  
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" -79

T-4 is

R(PROB)

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- B -  
COVER PAGE

FOIA(b) (7) - (D)

ME 100-4528

INFORMANTS:Identity of Source

T-5 is

[REDACTED]

T-6 is

[REDACTED]

(Ghetto)

T-7 is

[REDACTED]

T-8 is

[REDACTED]

NAACP, Memphis

T-9 is

[REDACTED]

Owen College,  
Memphis, and Liaison Source"  
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T-10

[REDACTED]

Teacher, Carver High School,  
volunteered, requested  
identity be protected

T-11 is

[REDACTED]

'Commercial Appeal"  
newspaper, Memphis,  
(protected at his request)File Where Located

NY

ME 100-4394

ME

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ME 100-4528-75

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ME 100-4528-86

ME 100-4528-88

- C -  
COVER PAGE

ME 100-4528

INFORMANTSIdentity of SourceFile Where Located

T-12 is

ME 100-4528

[REDACTED]  
 Memphis State University  
 Memphis, Tenn.  
 (protected at request)

T-13 is

ME [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], LeMoyne College,  
 Memphis, Liaison Source

T-14 is

ME [REDACTED]

Sub

(PROB)

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T-15 is

ME [REDACTED]

Former R(PROB)

T-16 is

ME 157-1003

Prospective R(PROB-Ghetto)

T-17 is

ME 100-4528

[REDACTED] G. W. Carver  
 High School, Memphis,  
 (volunteered)(protected  
 at his request)

T-18 is

ME 100-4528

[REDACTED]  
 G. W. Carver High School,  
 Memphis (volunteered)  
 (protected at his request)

- D -  
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ME 100-4528

INFORMANTS:Identity of SourceFile where Located

T-19 is

Liaison Source

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T-20 is

R(PROB)

ME

LEADS:ATLANTA DIVISION (INFORMATION)

Information copy has been furnished Atlanta in view of the fact that subject allegedly makes frequent trips to Atlanta and allegedly is the boy friend of ANN GOLAR of Atlanta.

MEMPHIS DIVISIONAT MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Will continue to follow and report pertinent activities of CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Instant report is classified "CONFIDENTIAL" as it contains information from informants and sources of continuing value. The unauthorized disclosure of this information could possibly lead to the disclosure of their identities thus jeopardizing the security of the United States.

Copies of instant report are being furnished to G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Georgia, and 111th Military Intelligence Group, Region 1, Third Army, Nashville, Tennessee, in view of CABBAGE's possible induction into the Armed Forces of the United States.

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COVER PAGE

CABBAGE is being recommended for inclusion on the Security Index (SI) in view of his recent statements advocating racial trouble and his close association with COBY VERNON SMITH, who has affiliations with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). An FD-122 is being submitted re CABBAGE and it is felt that he falls within the provisions of the Agreement between the U. S. Secret Service and the FBI under Category 3. A Flash Notice will be placed in the files of the Identification Division if CABBAGE's name is approved for inclusion in the Security Index.

A copy of this report is being designated for U. S. Secret Service, Memphis.

A photograph of CABBAGE has been furnished the U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, and Washington, D. C., as enclosures to FD-376 submitted with referenced report.

It will be noted that CABBAGE is currently on the Agitator Index, formerly known as the Rabble Rouser Index, of the Memphis Office.

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COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - G-2, Third Army, Ft. McPherson, Georgia (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - 111th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Nashville, Tenn. (RM)  
1 - 111th Military Intelligence, Third Army, Memphis, Tenn. (RM)  
1 - U. S. Secret Service, Memphis, Tennessee (RM)

Report of: SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE  
Date: March 25, 1968

Office: MEMPHIS

Field Office File No.: ME 100-4528

Bureau File No.: 100-448131

Title: CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE

Declassified Authority: FBI  
Auto Declassification Guide By:  
NARA Date: 11-18-2013

Character: SECURITY MATTER - SNCC;  
RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis: CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, male Negro, born 4/8/44, Memphis, Tenn., a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, in the summer of 1967, has lived in Memphis since the Summer of 1967. He has organized a militant black power group known as Black Organizing Power (BOP) which he admits is affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He makes periodic trips to Atlanta, Ga., to consult with SNCC leaders. He has spoken of the need of Negroes to obtain guns, has told audiences how to make Molotov cocktails, and on 3/5/68 distributed drawings regarding making of Molotov cocktails. At meetings he has said "The black man must overthrow capitalism by any means necessary." He has told the audiences, "Black man should not fight in Vietnam." He admitted to Special Agents of the FBI to being a follower of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, National Chairman of SNCC, and admitted he is "organizing young militant blacks in the community."

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ME 100-4528

DETAILS:

I. PERSONAL HISTORY DATA

A. Residence

On November 16, 1967, CABBAGE stated that he could always be contacted by calling him as follows:

- 1) 942-3755, any time after 2 a.m., as this is where he sleeps.
- 2) 946-4432 and leave messages for him, in care of his mother.
- 3) 947-7204, which he said is JOHN BURRELL SMITH's apartment.

The Memphis, Tennessee, Telephone Directory shows that Telephone No. 942-3755 is that of ALICE JACKSON, 1924 Rile, CABBAGE's grandmother, and Telephone No. 946-4432 is listed to ELVIN SHANNON, 234 Ingle.

(T-1, 11/17/68)

On November 20, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-2 advised that 947-7204 is a new telephone number and was subscribed to on October 12, 1967, by WILLIAM THOMAS, JR., 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis, Tennessee, who is employed at Dixie Wax Paper Company.

On December 6, 1967, DORIS SHEPARD, Registrar's Office, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, advised from records that CHARLES L. CABBAGE resided in Apartment P-14, 3201 Garden Road, Atlanta, Georgia, as of the Spring of 1967.

On January 5, 1968, CABBAGE advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that he was living at 1924 Rile Street, Memphis, Tennessee.

As of March 1, 1968, CABBAGE still resided at 1924 Rile, Telephone No. 942-3755.

(T-1, 3/1/68)

As of March 14, 1968, CABBAGE was living with JOHN BURRELL SMITH at 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis, Tennessee.

(T-1, 3/15/68)

**B. Education**

On December 6, 1967, Mrs. DORIS SHEPARD, Registrar's Office, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, advised that CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE entered Morehouse College in September, 1964, as a transfer student from Owen College, Memphis, Tennessee. He was graduated from Summer School at Morehouse on August 4, 1967, with a B.A. Degree in History. On November 9, 1967, a transcript of his Morehouse record was sent to the Graduate School, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee. His relative standing at Morehouse was rated as 1.76 out of a possible 4.0. It was pointed out to Mrs. SHEPARD that some of this information was at variance with information furnished by her on July 21, 1967, at which time she reported CABBAGE was no longer in attendance at Morehouse. She said this was entirely possible as his folder would not, by necessity, contain his complete record of his summer attendance there at the time the records were checked in July.

The records of Memphis State University (MSU), as furnished by Mr. WILLIAM F. YOUNGSON, Director of Security, MSU, on September 14, 1967, showed that CABBAGE attended the second 6-weeks of summer school at MSU from July 17, to August 23, 1967. He took one course in History. Therefore, he could not have been in attendance at Morehouse at the same time, according to Mr. YOUNGSON.

On December 9, 1967, Mr. YOUNGSON advised that CABBAGE has not followed through on any application to attend graduate school at MSU.



On October 2, 1967, T-1 advised that on October 2, 1967, CHARLES CABBAGE said he was not going to school this fall and that his grade average at Morehouse College was not sufficient to permit him to transfer to Memphis State University without taking the entrance examination which he refused to do.

C. Employment

On September 22, 1967, Mr. WILLIAM MC GRATH, Administrative Assistant to WASHINGTON BUTLER, Director of the Memphis War on Poverty Committee (WOPC), Memphis, Tennessee, advised that COBY VERNON SMITH, CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH are no longer on the payroll of Memphis Area Project-South (MAPS), having been terminated August 31, 1967.

CABBAGE has not worked since August 31, 1967, when he was laid off his 20-hour-a-week job by the Memphis Area Project - South (MAPS), as an antipoverty worker.

(T-1, 3/15/68)

D. Selective Service

On October 2, 1967, T-1 advised that on October 2, 1967, CHARLES L. CABBAGE said he was about to be drafted into the United States Army but that he will refuse to go.

On October 20, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-3 advised that CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, Selective Service No. 40-83-44-209, came into Local Board No. 83 on October 19, 1967, stayed about one hour, argued and became hostile. He acted as though he is a "law unto himself," projecting things out of any sense of proportion. He wanted to be taken out of 1-A classification. He is no longer a student and cannot qualify for 2-S classification. He wanted to be a Conscientious Objector. The Board mailed him Conscientious Objector forms about six months ago. He refuses to execute them but wants the Board to accept his oral word that he is a Conscientious Objector. He has refused to return a questionnaire recently mailed to him. When asked what type conscientious objector he wanted to be, either 1A-0 or 1-0, one who will be a noncombatant or one who will do only civilian work.

CABBAGE refused to answer, saying that he, alone, will decide what he will do. He said he was going to mail his Selective Service registration card back to Local Board 83, thus severing any relations with Selective Service System.

He demanded the names of all the Board members. He was then classified 1-A but said he will refuse to accept any classification. He was scheduled to have a hearing before the entire Board on November 14, 1967, at 10:30 a.m. He said he would bring thirty witnesses with him.

On November 8, 1967, T-3 advised that to date CHARLES CABBAGE, Selective Service No. 40-83-44-209, had not turned in his draft registration or 1-A classification card as he recently threatened to do. He is registered with Local Board 83, Memphis, Tennessee.

T-3 learned that Local Board 83 recently mailed CABBAGE's 1-A card to his home address, 234 Ingle, and his grandmother signed for it on October 24, 1967. He still refused to execute any forms and says he will not accept any classification.

Since he is appealing his 1-A classification, he was scheduled to appear before the Board of Local Board No. 83 at 10:30 a.m., Tuesday, November 14, 1967, in an office adjacent to Local Board 83, Room 765, Federal Office Building, Memphis, Tennessee. DUNBAR ABSTON, JR., is Chairman of the Board.

On the morning of Tuesday, November 14, 1967, Lieutenant E. H. ARKIN and Inspector G. P. TINES, both of the Inspectional Bureau, Memphis, Tennessee, Police Department, and SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE observed the seventh floor elevator area of the Federal Office Building at about 10:25 a.m. and observed CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE accompanied by WATSON PALMER GUNTER, 1749 Foster, a male Negro, bearded and wearing sun glasses. CABBAGE also wore sun glasses. They got off the elevator and disappeared. CABBAGE was scheduled for a hearing before his Local Selective Service Board No. 83 at 10:30 a.m. Mrs. EUNICE HOLLOWAY is Clerk of Local Board 83, and the Board members are DUNBAR ABSTON, JOHN SNEED WILLIAMS, and ELGIN L. SCOTT, Negro, employed at the Memphis Country Club. CABBAGE was to contest his 1-A classification. A few minutes later, CABBAGE circled the corridor several times. No one else appeared to be with him.

Later on the afternoon of November 14, 1967, T-3 advised that the hearing was held and that WATSON PALMER GUNTER appeared with CABBAGE. GUNTER said very little other than that CABBAGE was of good character and conscientiously objected to all wars. CABBAGE insisted before the Board that he should not be classified 1-A and stated that he was a Conscientious Objector (CO). He finally agreed to execute Conscientious Objector forms, heretofore contending that he did not have to execute same as they were "archaic," based on laws passed by legislators that he did not help to elect. He was most contentious and argumentative.

He refused to tell Mr. ABSTON if he had his draft registration card. He gave the Board two addresses, 234 Ingle and 1934 Rile. He claimed he was being discriminated against because he was a Negro. He claimed mandatory military service was discriminatory and he needed to remain a civilian to be an "organizer" to lead the Negro people to change the draft laws. He kept using the phrase, "Participatory Democracy," stating that people could at any time change laws they did not like or ignore them.

CABBAGE claimed "Laws are made to serve the people" and "not the people to serve the law." He said when laws are unjust, it is the obligation of the people to oppose them by any necessary means and that the government has systematically opposed his people, the black people. He used the word "black," not Negro. He said he had organized Conscientious Objectors while at Morehouse College in Atlanta and was now an "organizer of black people." He said he is not working. The Board voted to keep him in 1-A classification, and he is appealing to the West Tennessee Appeal Board.

On November 16, 1967, T-1 advised that on the afternoon of November 15, 1967, CABBAGE contacted him, stating that he was having trouble with his Draft Board. CABBAGE told T-1 that he was in 1-A classification and that he would "fight it" all the way to the Supreme Court. CABBAGE said he would be able to get the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to support him. T-1 advised that CABBAGE had a copy of "Liberator Magazine" with him which he said he had bought at a news stand. This magazine is pro-North Vietnam and is unalterably opposed to United States policy in Vietnam and the entire military defense of the United States.

ME 100-4528

On March 15, 1968, T-3 advised that the West Tennessee Appeal Board of Selective Service still had CABBAGE's case under consideration.

E. Physical Description

The following is a composite description of CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE:

Name:	CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE
Date of Birth:	April 8, 1944
Place of Birth:	Memphis, Tennessee
Race:	Negro
Sex:	Male
Height:	6 feet 2½ inches
Weight:	165 pounds
Hair:	Black
Eyes:	Brown
Education:	Graduate of Carver High School, Memphis, Tennessee; attended Owen Junior College, Memphis, Tennessee, September, 1962 to May 1964; attended Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, September, 1964, to May, 1967, obtained degree August 3, 1967; attended Summer School, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee, July and August, 1967.
Relatives:	
Father:	IRVIN CABBAGE
Mother:	JESSIE MAE CABBAGE
	both residing 1731 Benford, Memphis, Tennessee
Brother:	ELVIN LEON CABBAGE, age 25;
Sister:	SELINA CABBAGE, age 21;
Brother:	RICHARD CABBAGE, age 18;
Brother:	VANN CABBAGE, age 17.
Grandmother:	PHROENNIE SHANNON, 234 Ingle, Memphis;
Grandmother:	ALICE JACKSON, 1924 Rile, Memphis, Tennessee
Selective Service No.	40-83-44-209
Social Security No.:	

II. CONNECTIONS WITH SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

A. Leadership in SNCC-Oriented Black Organizing Power (BOP), Memphis, Tennessee

✓ The SNCC movement was first talked in Memphis in the Spring of 1967 by CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR, 347 W. Waldorf, a male Negro and senior student at Memphis State University (MSU). TAYLOR later teamed up with CHARLES L. CABBAGE, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, and COBY VERNON SMITH to support the mayoralty candidacy of A. W. WILLIS, JR., Memphis Negro attorney. CABBAGE in the Fall of 1967 claimed to be from Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, but is a native Memphian who formerly attended Carver High School and Owen Junior College, Memphis. CABBAGE claimed he became active in SNCC in Atlanta in 1966 and early 1967. CABBAGE said black power followers could avoid the draft by becoming security risks. In October, 1967, CABBAGE said that JOHN B. SMITH and CABBAGE had recently gone to Atlanta to SNCC Headquarters. CABBAGE said they had a house on Hanauer Street where they could meet. JOHN B. SMITH lives at 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2.

352-  
(T-4, 11/13/67)

COBY VERNON SMITH

COBY VERNON SMITH was one of the out-of-town attendees at the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), National Plenum, held at 873 Broadway, New York, New York, June 2, 3 and 4, 1967.

(T-5, 6/5/67)

(The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.)

On October 20, 1967, T-1 advised that on the night of October 19, 1967, he learned from black power advocate CHARLES CABBAGE that CABBAGE, possibly JOHN BURRELL SMITH, and two others, not named, but ostensibly the brothers, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR and EDWARD REED TAYLOR, will go to Washington, D. C., on Friday, October 20, 1967, to participate in the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam massive demonstration at the Pentagon on October 21, 1967. He said they will go in JOHN SMITH's 1962 model gray Volkswagen. T-1 asked CABBAGE if COBY V. SMITH was going and he said COBY was too busy as a student at Southwestern College. CABBAGE stated that he had seen little of COBY SMITH recently and had "sort of drawn away" from COBY.

T-1 stated that CABBAGE said he was still determined to form an effective militant black power movement in Memphis and had developed some unidentified supporters and allies at Owen College and LeMoyne College. He did not identify them. CABBAGE said to date he has had no success in getting black power supporters at Memphis State University.

On October 30, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-6<sup>282</sup> advised that the father of CHARLES L. CABBAGE, a self-admitted black power advocate in Memphis who is trying to form a SNCC chapter, is IRVIN CABBAGE who works on the "Mississippi," the leading tow boat of the Memphis U. S. Corps of Engineers, Memphis District. T-6 stated that in recent conversation with IRVIN CABBAGE, who lives at 1731 Benford, Memphis, IRVIN indicated that he is most concerned about his son, CHARLES CABBAGE. He stated he is afraid CHARLES will get into some serious trouble and he is unable to control CHARLES. He said CHARLES is living with his grandmother, ALICE JACKSON, at 1924 Rile, Memphis. T-6 added that a few days prior to October 30, 1967, T-6 saw the older brother of CHARLES CABBAGE, namely ELVIN LEON CABBAGE, who was visiting Memphis. ELVIN lives and works out of town. ELVIN is most angry with CHARLES and told T-6 that CHARLES CABBAGE is full of hatred and wants to see racial trouble. ELVIN claims he argued with CHARLES, telling CHARLES he was wrong, almost to the point where they fought.



On November 2, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-7 advised that Reverend RICHARD M. MOON, Director of Westminster House, Presbyterian Student Center, Memphis State University, said he keeps up with all the "new left" and "black power" movements in Memphis and that COBY VERNON SMITH, erstwhile SNCC organizer and SSOC member, now a Southwestern College student, is, in MOON's opinion, a "big boy" with big ideas but little organizational ability insofar as "black power" is concerned. MOON said the real brains regarding the black power movement in Memphis rests in COBY's associate, CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE. He said CABBAGE calls all the shots and is the "black power brains." MOON added that based on contacts with CABBAGE, COBY SMITH, and some of their unidentified "black power" associates he, MOON, expected a lot of racial trouble in Memphis in 1968 because COBY, CABBAGE, and their associates are bitterly disappointed at the small vote received by Memphis Mayoralty candidate A. W. WILLIS, JR., in the October 6, 1967, primary. They have told MOON they will "make Memphis suffer." He did not elaborate as to details.

T-7 advised that MOON seemed to be infatuated with the "new left" and "black power" concepts offering no criticism whatsoever of either.

On November 8, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-8 advised that BOBBY DOCTOR, male Negro, employee of the United States Civil Rights Commission, Memphis, Tennessee, is one of the adult advisers of the incipient SNCC-oriented black power clique in Memphis, represented by CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, COBY VERNON SMITH, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, EDWARD REED TAYLOR, WATSON PALMER GUNTER, Mrs. WATSON PALMER GUNTER, and JOHN BURRELL SMITH. This group has attended some of the recent leadership workshops of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), uninvited. On the occasion of their attendance at these workshops, DOCTOR brought the group and left with them. T-8 advised that one of the workshop participants, a Negro female, MARSHALL A. RANDOLPH is infatuated with CHARLES CABBAGE and has a "crush" on him. She defends CABBAGE and his associates. MARSHALL RANDOLPH can easily be led into the black power camp for this reason.

The 1965-66 MSU Student Directory lists one MARSHALL A. RANDOLPH, student, residence 1645 Cameron; no telephone is listed.

The 1966 Memphis City Directory lists MARSHALL RANDOLPH, student, residence 1645 Cameron. The Street Directory for the same year lists WILLIAM CALDWELL at 1645 Cameron.

T-8 advised that CABBAGE was trying desperately to become a Negro leader and that he wanted his own black power group. T-8 stated that CABBAGE is a bitter young man, imbued with his idea of self importance. He was attempting to get adult backing. CABBAGE was vague as to his plans, denied that he was formally affiliated with SNCC, but admitted that he had connections with SNCC.

On November 8, 1967, T-8 also advised that at the November 1, 1967, meeting T-8 recognized CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, EDWARD REED TAYLOR, ELEANOR TAYLOR, JOHN B. SMITH, BOBBY DOCTOR, WATSON PALMER GUNTER and his wife. They were all militant and when MAXINE SMITH, the Executive Secretary of the NAACP, Memphis, finally asked them to leave, JOHN B. SMITH said something to the effect that when there is a race riot in Memphis some of the NAACP people should not be surprised to see their homes burned.

On the evening of November 8, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-9 advised that he had just heard that CHARLES L. CABBAGE and possibly JOHN BURRELL SMITH had gone to Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend of November 4, 1967, to seek SNCC support for a black power group in Memphis. He said that to the best of his knowledge no black power or Negro history classes have been held during the week beginning November 5, 1967.

During late October or early November, 1967, a group of self-admitted SNCC-oriented black powerites, including BOBBY DOCTOR, Field Representative of the United States Civil Rights Commission, 167 North Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee; JAMES PHILLIPS, LeMoyne College student; COBY VERNON SMITH, Southwestern College student; CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, former Carver High School student; JOHN BURRELL SMITH; MARSHALL ANN RANDOLPH, former Hamilton High School student; and CHARLES L. CABBAGE, came to the NAACP Grassroots Workshop, uninvited. They attempted to disrupt the meetings and made wild and irrational statements about burning and looting in Memphis. They made veiled threats against the NAACP leaders when the latter asked them to leave.

(T-10, 12/7/67)



CALVIN LEROY TAYLOR, copy boy for the "Commercial Appeal" newspaper and senior student at Memphis State University, has openly admitted being a SNCC member and black power advocate since as early as 1967. He has little time for activity as he works 40 hours a week and carries a full course at Memphis State University. He wears a jacket with the name "Invaders" on the back.

(T-11, 11/9/67)

✓ On November 16, 1967, CABBAGE said he is still trying to organize an active SNCC-type organization in Memphis and how had some good militant recruits and supporters including JOHN BURRELL SMITH, now attending Owen College. He said he has developed some excellent black power contacts and supporters at LeMoyne College, 807-25 Walker Avenue, Memphis, and would make his move at MSU on November 17, 1967. CABBAGE also said he had done some good and successful recruiting at Owen College.

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(T-1, 11/16/67)

On November 17, 1967, CABBAGE, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR and JOHN BURRELL SMITH, all came to Memphis State University in an effort to talk a group of MSU students into forming a black power group. They told the students who would listen to them, about 100 in number, that they were being discriminated against by the white power structure at MSU. Several Negro students showed an interest.

(T-4, 11/17/67)  
(T-12, 11/17/67)

CABBAGE and SMITH returned to MSU on November 20, 1967, and again talked to Negro students endeavoring to interest them in joining and forming a black power unit at MSU.

(T-4, 11/20/67)  
(T-12, 11/20/67)

On November 16, 1967, T-1 advised that on November 16, 1967, CABBAGE said he did go to Atlanta, Georgia, on October 20, 1967, to get support for his Memphis black power organization. CABBAGE also advised that he had gone to Washington, D. C., where he participated in the October 21, 1967, massive march on the Pentagon in an effort to opoport United States policy in Vietnam. CABBAGE did not elaborate. He did say that he had gone back to Atlanta about a week prior to November 16, 1967, in an effort to get additional support.

On November 21, 1967, T-1 advised that CABBAGE and SMITH said the "Invaders" is still not a separate organization but that it is merely a name by which the chapter at Owen College and Carver High School want to be called. CABBAGE said he and his black power group, including JOHN B. SMITH, would go to LeMoyne College to the Student Center at about 12:30 p.m. on Tuesday, November 21, 1967, to hold a forum on black power. CABBAGE said LeMoyne student CLINTON ROY JAMERSON of 1397 Davis Street, Memphis, is one of his group and is a "good man." CABBAGE claimed he has a following at LeMoyne. CABBAGE wants to get some pictures of his followers. He said he had recently been to Atlanta, Georgia, to try to obtain money for his group but was unsuccessful. He badly needs money and adult support. He has also seen AUTREY PARKER, Director of the Memphis Area Project - South (MAPS), seeking support. He indicated he had been unsuccessful. T-1 advised that JOHN SMITH had decided not to attend the forum at LeMoyne as he had classes at Owen College but said he would send "some of his boys."

T-1 also advised that recently Reverend CHARLES MICKLE, Placement Officer at LeMoyne College, told T-1 that the black power, erstwhile SNCC group, has a small base among students at LeMoyne. He stated that the faculty is scared of them and, accordingly, the faculty is taking a "hands-off position." MICKLE said the group has been putting out anonymous newsletters attacking various faculty members and trying to draw the faculty into a controversy with them. T-1 added that ROBERT RATCLIFFE, Public Relations Manager, LeMoyne College, had confidentially stated that a small clique of black power advocates has established itself among the male students at LeMoyne.

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✓ Later on November 21, 1967, T-1 advised that CABBAGE, accompanied by WATSON PALMER GUNTER, a nonstudent, of 1749 Foster, had gone to the Student Center at LeMoyne College around 12:30 to 1 p.m., November 21, 1967. He stated that about 75 students, both boys and girls, came to hear them. PETER COOPER, white male, Economics Instructor, came also. JAMES PHILLIPS, LeMoyne student who lives at 1592 Short, was the master of ceremonies and spokesman for the LeMoyne students.

T-1 advised that CABBAGE and PHILLIPS kept saying that the United States is a white man's country, dominated and controlled by the whites. They stated that no Negroes are prominently mentioned in American history and that no Negro history is taught in the schools. They also stated that Dr. HOLLIS F. PRICE, President of LeMoyne College, is a stooge of the white power structure. PHILLIPS said, "This cat, PRICE, has got to go," and "His day is over." They called United States Senator EDWARD BROOKS of Massachusetts an example of a "so-called" Negro being a stooge for the whites as he was elected by and controlled by whites. They said he is "phony" and besides that he is half white. They attacked THURGOOD MARSHALL, current United States Supreme Court Justice, a Negro, as a stooge of the white race. His appointment, they said, was "Uncle Tomism." T-1 advised that they were vulgar and filthy in their language using frequent four-letter words. CABBAGE and PHILLIPS said the Negro students' only salvation was to organize and to assume power and control over their own destinies. They did not elaborate.

T-1 advised that CABBAGE recommended that his listeners regularly read "Muhammad Speaks," the official paper of the Nation of Islam (NOI)(Black Muslims), as he said it contains more consistent material pertinent to the black power movement than any other existing publication.

(A characterization of the NOI is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

T-1 advised that WATSON PALMER GUNTER said the group cannot be too specific as it is just getting started and that of necessity it has to be vague as it does not want the white man to know, in advance, of its aims, plans, and tactics.

T-1 advised that CABBAGE and PHILLIPS asked those in the audience who are interested to get in touch with them. Following the meeting, about ten of the LeMoyne students had their pictures taken with CABBAGE, PHILLIPS and GUNTER. About

four or five sympathizers refused to get into the pictures. Several had natural Afro hairdos. One boy with round-shaped metal framed glasses similar to those worn by H. RAP BROWN of SNCC would not get into the pictures. CABBAGE kept referring to himself as the "Organizer." CABBAGE referred to his group at LeMoyne as "BOP" (Black Organizing Power).

ROBERT RATCLIFFE later told T-1 that COBY VERNON SMITH, one of the earlier co-organizers with CABBAGE, had become somewhat isolated from this group and had somewhat "cooled off" from the black power group.

T-1 recalled that at LeMoyne College on November 21, 1967, CABBAGE claimed the United States Government had built detention or concentration camps in Pennsylvania and Arizona in which to incarcerate black powerites when the government "cracks down" on all dissenters.

T-1 advised that GUNTER tried to tell the LeMoyne sympathizers to dress in a natural African fashion, to let their hair grow bushy, to use no makeup, and then he said this was not too important as "it's what's in your heart which counts."

T-1 advised that CLINTON ROY JAMERSON was on the stage with PHILLIPS, CABBAGE and GUNTER but did not speak.

✓ T-1 advised that CABBAGE claimed SNCC leader, H. RAP BROWN, is a political prisoner and that the whites tricked him into carrying a gun in interstate commerce, leading to his arrest. He made fun of the recent marriage of the daughter of Secretary of State DEAN RUSK to a Negro, stating that the Negro was three-fourths white.

T-1 advised that CABBAGE in his speech added that the Negro rioters in Detroit and Newark in the Summer of 1967 suffered heavy losses because they were not properly armed to defend themselves and he said they are now armed but did not elaborate.

Again on November 22, 1967, T-1 advised that JOHN BURRELL SMITH and CABBAGE went back to LeMoyne about 1 p.m. on November 22, 1967. They invaded the faculty lounge where a white man or Arab by the name of HOLLOWELL had been a guest speaker. They tried to intimidate HOLLOWELL. They insulted four or five white LeMoyne teachers who were present. They told Mrs. SWEATLOW, a white female, age 21-22, a math teacher, that she was a terrible teacher; that she was not wanted by the Negroes at LeMoyne; and that she had better leave. JAMES PHILLIPS told her his girl friend (not named) could teach better than she. CABBAGE and SMITH intimidated a Dr. ANDERSON, a tall white Philosophy instructor, telling him he was not wanted at LeMoyne and that he should resign. They tried to intimidate HOLLOWELL into giving them money. He finally gave them a dollar as he was obviously scared of them.

T-1 advised that this was overheard by DENNIS HAYES, a young LeMoyne student. He was disturbed and was opposed to them. HAYES said there are only about five devoted hard-core followers of CABBAGE and SMITH at LeMoyne but there are a considerable number of sympathizers. One possible sympathizer was JEANETTE SHARPE; at least she hung around them and seemed interested. Another obvious sympathizer who chimed in and "aped" PHILLIPS was LeMoyne student CURTIS CARTER of 377 East McLemore. They took up a collection, taking up about \$3.00. PHILLIPS said if he could get \$8.00 he would go buy a carbine and come back and shoot up LeMoyne.

T-1 advised that he understood that Dr. HOLLIS PRICE, who was not on the campus at the time, on hearing of the incident, sent for JAMES PHILLIPS, a student, wishing to see him at once.

On November 24, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-13 volunteered the following information:

It now appears that the leading troublemakers and SNCC supporters at LeMoyne are JAMES PHILLIPS, the student leader in this movement, aided and abetted by CURTIS CARTER, CLINTON ROY JAMERSON and CARL PATTON. CALVIN TODD was a supporter but has been put out of school for academic reasons. Another alleged supporter is CARL PATTON who was recently arrested by the Memphis Police Department for stealing books and will be expelled from school as soon as court action takes place.

T-13 stated that PHILLIPS, CARTER and PATTON are the "ringleaders." He has been reliably informed that they were responsible for putting out the "Nonviolence Bulletin" on November 2, 1967, reporting the formation of a SNCC chapter at LeMoyne by PHILLIPS (JAMES), CARTER (CURTIS), JAMERSON (CLINTON ROY), FALLS (JAMES H.), PATTON (CARL), DYE (ROBERT), BOYD (HERBERT), HOOKS (RONALD), NEELY (ROCHESTER), LOWERY (MYRON), and JONES (BENJAMIN).

T-13 said that some of the above, specifically LOWERY, HOOKS, JONES, and NEELY and possibly BOYD, were concerned about their names being listed as SNCC supporters.

Regarding the Tuesday, November 21, 1967, incident at the Student Center, T-13 said that MYRON LOWERY, Student Council President, is actually afraid of the SNCC or black power leaders. He is weak-willed and they intimidated him into asking for the use of the lecture hall at the Student Center where PHILLIPS and CABBAGE spoke. This was in the Little Theater Section. T-13 was not there but he has been informed by students and faculty that CABBAGE spoke on November 21, 1967, saying that Negro colleges are inferior because the white power structure controls the schools and purposely keeps them inferior to keep the Negro inferior. CABBAGE stated that Dr. PRICE, President of LeMoyne, is no good as he is part of the "establishment" (white power structure). CABBAGE further stated that the black man has to fight for his destiny by any and all means. T-13 advised that about 15 students and CABBAGE then sat around the student lounge and talked using filthy and vulgar language. T-13 advised that they were asked to move on and that they moved out onto the campus and huddled around for about an hour.

T-13 said there is no doubt that some small group of students have been "taken in" by the black power emotional pitch; but that most of the students ignore them and consider them to be impractical and crazy. He feels they have at most eight to ten followers among the students. T-13 advised that there is no evidence whatsoever of any faculty support or guidance at LeMoyne.

T-13 advised that he had been told that on Wednesday, November 22, 1967, CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH came to the LeMoyne Campus and went to the faculty lounge where they proceeded to insult a guest of the school, a Mr. HOLLADAY of the United Church of Christ, from Beirut, Lebanon. He



stated that Mr. HOLLADAY had spoken at the Chapel at LeMoyne earlier on November 22, 1967, about the Arab-Israeli controversy. About ten faculty members, both white and Negro, were in the faculty lounge when JAMES PHILLIPS, CURTIS CARTER, JOHN B. SMITH and CHARLES CABBAGE accosted them. The faculty members and HOLLADAY tried to engage them in dialogue but, according to T-13, you cannot converse or debate with the black powerites. Accordingly, it became a tirade by CHARLES CABBAGE and PHILLIPS in which they charged that all of the white faculty members should leave LeMoyne as they were not wanted and were incompetent and inferior to Negroes.

T-13 advised that CABBAGE, PHILLIPS and the other members of the group claimed they needed money with which to purchase guns and weapons to be used by them in determining their own destiny. They specifically berated Dr. HOLGER ANDERSON, an elderly white teacher who is a Philosophy Instructor and former instructor at Memphis State University. They used many curse words and vulgar language on him.

On November 27, 1967, CABBAGE told T-1 that he flew to Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend of November 25-26, 1967, where he conferred with black power leaders, including a former Howard University professor who has left Howard to join the black power movement and to become a professional boxer. CABBAGE stated that there will be a black power conference in Knoxville, Tennessee, around the first of January, 1968, to be hosted by the Knoxville chapter of SNCC. He did not elaborate.

On November 27, 1967, T-1 observed CABBAGE, accompanied by JOHN BURRELL SMITH and another unidentified male Negro, driving a late model light blue Ford Mustang bearing Georgia license ID34870. CABBAGE said nothing about the car or its ownership.

On November 19, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-14 advised that beginning in early October, 1967, CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH, the latter an Army veteran and freshman student at Owen College, Memphis, began holding black power and black history meetings in Room 25 of the Administration Building at Owen College, an all-Negro junior college supported by the Baptist Church and located at 370 Orleans Street, Memphis. T-14 advised that usually about 30 to 40 students attend the meetings.

T-14 also advised that on Thursday, November 16, 1967, at the meeting, CHARLES CABBAGE led the discussion and lectured. CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH, an Owen Freshman and close associate of CABBAGE, served as moderators. CABBAGE discussed the Summer, 1967, race riots in Detroit and Newark, New Jersey, claiming they were the results of Negro or "black" frustrations and that they, the Negroes, had to resort to violence and will continue to have to use violence. He implied that racial violence will even occur in Memphis, as a racially desegregated or integrated society will not work as it will always be dominated by the white man. He lectured in detail as to how "Molotov cocktails" can be made from rags, gasoline and bottles. CABBAGE said there will always be racial segregation for various reasons - social, economic, or color. He said all previous Negro leaders in the United States, such as ROY WILKINS of the NAACP and MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., of the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC), have been hand-picked by and controlled by the



white power structure to keep the black masses in line. He said this was a part of capitalism's strategy to deprive the black man of his fair share of financial reward due him. He said that the black man built this country against his will and has been penalized economically and socially by the whites. Capitalism, he said, is geared to maintain the status-quo which perpetuates racial segregation. Too, he said, the capitalistic system, controlled by the white man, comes in, sets up businesses in Negro communities, makes profits from the Negro, does not share the profits with the Negro, but instead he takes the profits back to the white community making it even richer. Therefore, he said the black man's only salvation lies in the complete and unequivocal overthrow of the capitalistic system by any means. This was purely communist teachings, according to the source.

CABBAGE then discussed Vietnam. He claimed the Vietnamese who are Orientals are somewhat related to the black man and that when Negro soldiers kill them they are killing their "brothers." He said the Vietnamese war is not a battle of Communism versus democracy as the United States leaders claim but that the Vietnamese people are merely seeking to achieve their own destiny. He lauded the recent peace mission of American "new left" leader TOM HAYDEN, former leader of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), to Hanoi, resulting in HAYDEN freeing three American Army sergeants who had been prisoners of war in the North Vietnamese area. He said in reality the Vietnamese war is one of the black man versus the white man and that the whites and their capitalistic power structure are trying to take over the world. He cited the white domination of blacks in Rhodesia as an example.

(A characterization of the SDS is attached hereto in the Appendix Section.)

T-14 advised that a few students from LeMoyne College have attended some of these meetings. CABBAGE has said he wants to form a black power axis involving students from Owen, LeMoyne and Memphis State University (MSU). CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH are the main leaders detected to date. They call their LeMoyne contingent the "BOP" (Black Organizing Power).

T-14 advised that a close associate of CABBAGE and SMITH who is not a student but who comes to the meetings is WATSON PALMER GUNTER, male Negro, who wears a beard and sun glasses. GUNTER said he graduated from Manassas High School and has not attended college. He gave one rather innocuous talk at a recent meeting on economics and black power.

As recently as September 13, 1967, T-7 reported that on September 12, 1967, one of CABBAGE's close black power associates, COBY VERNON SMITH, 2240 Brown Avenue, Memphis, commented "We have to have black power." He emphasized that he was organizing the "BOP" which he, too, referred to as Black Organizing Power. COBY SMITH said BOP was a name he had picked; that actually it was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); and that SNCC gave him permission to use this name as Memphians generally were skeptical of and afraid of SNCC.

T-14 also advised that another non-Owen attendee at these meetings has been a female Negro, MARSHALL RANDOLPH, a former student at Hamilton High School, where she allegedly was a troublemaker. Her current address is not known.

✓ On November 30, 1967, CHARLES L. CABBAGE led a black power meeting in Room 25, Administration Building, Owen College, being assisted by JOHN BURRELL SMITH. Featured was a tape of a fiery speech made by the late MALCOLM X. LITTLE, Negro revolutionary. It was a hate-inspired speech. LITTLE is now the martyred hero of many young black power advocates. CABBAGE then led a discussion based on the tape. He claimed the United States State Department and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had MALCOLM X assassinated because he was about to lead a black revolution which would have freed all blacks in the United States. Several LeMoyne College students were present. CABBAGE commented that the SNCC program, which he supports, is moving more and more toward an extreme, radical and revolutionary program.

(T-14, 12/6/67)

On November 29, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-15 stated that around July, 1967, JOHN BURRELL SMITH and CHARLES L. CABBAGE began preaching black power in southwest Memphis, claiming Negroes or black men should form and determine their own destinies. They made such statements as, "This town ought to burn down." CABBAGE claimed an affiliation with SNCC, claiming he became involved with SNCC while a student at Morehouse College in Atlanta in 1966 and 1967. CABBAGE claimed to have a girl friend in Atlanta, name not known, whose family allegedly has money and who purportedly finances him.

On December 1, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-16 said that on September 10, 1967, he attended a black power meeting in Apartment 2, 1644 Hanauer (the apartment of JOHN BURRELL SMITH). About 15 Negroes were present. The meeting was led by CHARLES L. CABBAGE and WATSON PALMER GUNTER. About 10 people were invited to hear CABBAGE talk. CABBAGE and GUNTER spoke of forming a large black power group to control Memphis. Both said there is a need of blacks to hate all white people and that the Negro or blacks must burn and riot in Memphis so that the Federal Government and State Government would pour money into the housing projects, build businesses for Negroes, and provide jobs for Negroes and do away with white power control of Memphis. CABBAGE claimed blacks have been slaves in the United States for three hundred years and remain so. He said it is time for Negroes to unite and take control of their own destiny and that this, and not more integration, is needed to give Negroes black power and control.

CABBAGE told those present that the group could start a riot by having a white male assault a Negro woman in a crowded area and then have a group of black power Negro males come to the aid of the assaulted woman and, in the process, attack all the whites in the area. CABBAGE said this would be done when his black power movement was firmly established in Memphis, and he hoped to have this accomplished by the Summer of 1968.

During the Fall of 1967, CHARLES L. CABBAGE interested several young Carver High School students in southwest Memphis in the black power movement. Included in this group are two of his younger brothers, namely: VAN CABBAGE, born July 1, 1950, current residence 1731 Benford, and RICHARD LAWRENCE CABBAGE, born December 20, 1948, residence 1731 Benford, father IRVIN CABBAGE. Many of this group refer to themselves as "Invaders" and wear the word Invaders on their jackets. They are all a part of CHARLES CABBAGE's group. This group regularly meets at John B. Smith's apartment at 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis.

(T-17, 12/7/67)

On November 15, 1967, one of the so-called "Invaders" group, HARRY GIBBS, former Carver High School student, told one of the Carver teachers that this was a black power group led by CHARLES CABBAGE. He said that this group would stockpile weapons and would, if propitious, riot. He also stated that if any teacher failed any member of the group, this teacher could expect to be cut up and badly injured. GIBBS claimed that DONNIE DELANEY, Carver graduate; WILLIAM LEE HIBBLER, Carver graduate; and RICHARD CABBAGE, are the leaders.

(T-18, 12/7/67)

Early in December, 1967, JAMES "MICKEY" BOOTH, a native Memphian and recent Tennessee A and I State University, Nashville, student, and CABBAGE were in the process of contacting 12 to 15 Memphis Negro business and professional men seeking financial support for their black power movement. They wanted to be funded in their operations with no questions asked. They apparently had little success in this regard.

(T-19, 12/14/67)

The "Southern Patriot," issue of February, 1968, official publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., (SCEF), referred to JAMES MICKEY BOOTH as a SNCC leader in Nashville, Tennessee. This was in a page-one story entitled, "Policemen Run Wild in Nashville's Ghetto."

(A characterization of the SCEF is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

On December 8, 1967, CHARLES CABBAGE and JAMES MICKEY BOOTH, a self-admitted SNCC leader from Nashville who was ousted from Tennessee A and I State University, Nashville, because he tried to form a revolutionary movement along black power lines, contacted a high-ranking Owen College official. BOOTH had been a college roommate of Tennessee SNCC Chairman, FRED HORACE BROOKS, who has received nationwide publicity for his "Hate White" views. BOOTH and CABBAGE commented that they want to bring the Memphis black power movement out from the underground and that in order to do so, they will need money, paper, printing supplies, utilization of long-distance telephones, funds for travel, and a Post Office box. The alternate to this, they said, would be pressure and disruptive tactics which they refused to describe.

(T-9, 12/13/67)

On December 13, 1967, CHARLES L. CABBAGE commented that JAMES MICKEY BOOTH of Nashville had been in Memphis to help him organize a SNCC and black power unit and that he was headed to Memphis State University to form a black power unit later on December 13, 1967.

(T-1, 12/13/67)

As confirmation of the above, on December 12 and 13, 1967, Dr. JESSE PARRISH, Dean of Students, Memphis State University, said that black power meetings were held on December 12 and 13, 1967, headed by MSU graduate student FRED OLIVER HARDY and RONALD LEWIS IVY, undergraduate. He stated that about 150 Negro students had shown an interest. He said MSU has about 15,000 students, with about 1,500 of this number being Negroes.

Later on December 13, 1967, T-12 advised that on the afternoon of December 13, 1967, he saw CABBAGE and two or three unidentified nonstudent Negroes on the MSU campus.

Shortly prior to December 20, 1967, CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH sought permission to hold a black power meeting at Owen College during 1967 Christmas holidays to teach black liberation and to teach other Negroes how to "beat the draft or Selective Service System." They did not elaborate.

(T-9, 12/20/67)

As of December, 1967, CABBAGE, JOHN B. SMITH, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, WATSON PALMER GUNTER, and their associates were trying to use the Negro political group hall of the Shelby County Democratic Club for black power meetings and a black history school. This hall is located at 313 East McLemore. They were halfway encouraged by A. W. WILLIS, JR., Negro, prominent Memphis attorney and member of the Tennessee State Legislature and unsuccessful candidate for Mayor of Memphis in the Memphis City Primary Election on October 6, 1967. It appeared that WILLIS was either in sympathy with them or "half afraid of them." Other members of the club vetoed the idea. He used this incipient black power group as his campaign workers in the Primary.

(T-19, 12/14/67)

On December 16, 1967, CABBAGE commented that his group was still small, that his main problem was lack of money, and that he might have to do something to "stir people and shock them" into giving him financial support. He did not elaborate.

(T-6, 12/22/67)

As of December 15, 1967, CABBAGE said he was trying to get STOKELY CARMICHAEL or some other "big name" SNCC leader to Memphis to stimulate interest in expanding his black power activities.

(T-1, 12/19/67)

As of December 28, 1967, Memphis Confidential Informant T-20 said he has known CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH for several years, and that beginning in the Summer of 1967, JOHN B. SMITH and CHARLES L. CABBAGE teamed up and began talking black power with a lot of young Negroes in southwest Memphis, one of the largest Negro area of Memphis. CABBAGE and SMITH formerly attended Carver High School where they played football together. SMITH has always had "hero worship" for CABBAGE, who is rather articulate. In the Summer of 1967, CABBAGE began making statements to the effect that Negroes would have to make the white man squirm and that Memphis might have a race riot. In fairness, there has never been any talk by CABBAGE of obtaining arms, storing arms or ammunition or explosives or incendiary devices. In the Fall of 1967, CABBAGE and SMITH formed black power or black supremacy groups at Owen and LeMoyne College.



CABBAGE has made several trips to Atlanta, Georgia, in the Fall of 1967, ostensibly to SNCC headquarters. On one occasion, he returned with a lot of SNCC literature and posters. CABBAGE has been driving a 1966 blue Mustang with Georgia license which he claims belongs to his Atlanta girl friend. CABBAGE and JOHN SMITH admittedly idolize STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, as well as the late MALCOLM X LITTLE.

On December 31, 1967, CHARLES L. CABBAGE spoke on black power at a meeting of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Memphis (UUFOM) held at the King Cotton Hotel. He kept referring to whites as "honkies." Dr. PETER COOPER, Economics Professor at LeMoyne College, took exception with CABBAGE and criticized CABBAGE and his followers for lewd and disparaging remarks which they had recently made on the LeMoyne campus. CABBAGE replied that he was merely a part of BOP and that he could not be responsible for all that his followers said or did. CABBAGE was heard to remark to at least one person present that he had been in Atlanta, Georgia, prior to coming to Memphis in the Summer of 1967; that in Atlanta he had actively worked in the SNCC; and that he had recently been on the MSU campus in an effort to organize a black power movement. In his speech CABBAGE called for a separate black nationalist state and claimed that his idol is the late MALCOLM X LITTLE, former head of Muslim Mosque, Inc., New York, New York.

(A characterization of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., is set forth in the Appendix Section.)

CABBAGE predicted that the Summer of 1968 will bring numerous race riots in the United States, saying there is no other way to solve the Negro problem, other than through violence. He made an oblique reference to the draft, saying the draft board could not get him and he would not go into the Armed Forces. He claimed the capitalistic society in the United States supports racial segregation, completely dominating the Negro making the Negro its slave. He claimed the Federal Government is preparing concentration camps in which to place black power dissenters. He claimed MALCOLM X LITTLE was the greatest man who ever lived.

(T-7, 12/31/67)

On January 8, 1968, CABBAGE, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, and others, not known, visited the Memphis State University campus to hold what CABBAGE referred to as his "first black power" forum. CABBAGE said he had developed some good rapport with young "white intellectuals" at MSU who would work with him in building up a black power movement at MSU. CABBAGE said he no longer has close ties with COBY VERNON SMITH as COBY has moved away from the "poverty class Negro" which CABBAGE and CLIFFORD TAYLOR are trying to reach. CABBAGE is attempting to develop Beale Street followers, a group of unemployed Negro youths, who want to live by their wits and who could easily be influenced by the emotional mouthings of one like CABBAGE.

(T-1, 1/9/68)

On January 11, 1968, a meeting of the "Afro-American Brotherhood," a name used by the SNCC-oriented BOP group, was held in Room 25 at Owen College, a 450-student Negro junior college. CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH led the meeting. Their current objective appears to be to unify Owen students into a drive against the Owen faculty and administration. Rumor abounded at Owen College that during the 1967 Christmas holidays an unidentified black power personality from Chicago came to Memphis to help CABBAGE and to tell him that if he did not become more successful he would be removed as a black power leader in Memphis. This group intermittently issues Mimeograph throwaways entitled, "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks," subtitled, "Black Thesis," which has aims to remove all white teachers from the Owen campus and which castigates the school administration, demanding the teaching of more black history at Owen College.

(T-14, 1/16/68)

(T-9, 1/16/68)

On January 12, 1968, Dr. JESSE PARRISH, Dean of Students, MSU, advised that on January 11, 1968, he was visited by CHARLES L. CABBAGE, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, WATSON PALMER GUNTER, all nonstudents, and by RONALD L. IVY, senior student at MSU, a male Negro. CABBAGE was the spokesman. He wanted to organize a black student movement on the MSU campus. CABBAGE said his group would model its activities after SNCC and in particular would follow and enunciate the teachings of SNCC chairman, H. RAP BROWN, and former SNCC chairman, STOKELY CARMICHAEL. They were told that the only groups which could operate on the campus were legitimate, chartered student organizations.



On January 17, 1968, JOHN B. SMITH, an associate of CABBAGE, contacted a high official of the Owen College campus seeking official school recognition of the "Afro-American Brotherhood," saying that if he could get it recognized he could get funds from New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. When queried as to the source of this alleged money, SMITH said that he and his group could get money from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). He refused to elaborate.

(T-14, 1/17/68)

(T-9, 1/17/68)

On January 23, 1968, WATSON PALMER GUNTER, male Negro, 1749 Foster, Memphis, Tennessee, advised that he and his wife, MAXINE RAMEY GUNTER, moved to Memphis from Chicago, Illinois, in August, 1967. He stated that they met COBY VERNON SMITH, male Negro, of 2240 Brown Avenue, with whom WATSON PALMER GUNTER had formerly been acquainted in Memphis. Through COBY, they met CABBAGE, who was organizing the black community, particularly in the poverty stricken and uneducated areas. GUNTER claimed CABBAGE was merely interested in uplifting the black community and that he formed a group called Black Organizing Project (BOP) which is obtaining a charter. GUNTER disclaimed any knowledge as to CABBAGE's income, saying he has not worked since August 31, 1967. GUNTER said he had attended NAACP grassroots workshops in the Fall of 1967 with CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH when they were asked to leave, after one of the group made statements that some NAACP people should not be surprised to see their homes burned by black power advocates if a riot occurred.

On January 31, 1968, Mr. and Mrs. EDWARD REED TAYLOR, SR., 2507 Fontaine Road, parents of EDWARD REED TAYLOR, JR., and CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, advised that they have become concerned regarding their two sons' association with CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH. They said they have known SMITH and CABBAGE for years as they used to attend Carver High School with their sons and were then good young men. Both were excellent athletes. The TAYLORS said they know, through hearsay, that CABBAGE, JOHN B. SMITH and COBY VERNON SMITH, all had reputations of advocating a violent and militant type of black power.

As of February 3, 1968, and February 6, 1968, CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH, both self-acclaimed SNCC leaders in Memphis, were trying to buy a house on Roanoke Street in Memphis to use as a joint residence and as headquarters for SNCC in Memphis. They wanted to start publishing a black power paper and to get a chartered organization. They said they are already publishing a Mimeograph newsletter at Owen College called "Afro-American Brotherhood."

(T-1, 2/6/68)

During a sanitation workers strike rally at Mt. Pisgah CME Church, 2490 Park Avenue, Memphis, on the night of February 29, 1968, representatives of the Memphis Police Department arrested two Negro photographers for jaywalking which nearly created a riot among the approximately five hundred Negroes present. CHARLES L. CABBAGE and three of his black power associates, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, CHARLES HARRINGTON, and CHARLES BALLARD said they wanted "action." They attended a policy meeting of the Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance immediately thereafter. CABBAGE admitted having attended some sort of SNCC meeting in Atlanta from February 22, 1968, until February 28, 1968. At the ministers meeting, CABBAGE told the ministers his black power group needed money, and a car, and if they could obtain the money and car, they could harass the working sanitation workers, coerce them, and intimidate them. The ministers turned down his offer, saying they were opposed to violence. CABBAGE accused the ministers, including his former mentor Reverend JAMES MORRIS LAWSON, JR., of "selling out."

(T-1, 2/29/68 and 3/1/68)

On the night of March 5, 1968, at a mass rally in support of striking sanitation workers in Memphis, Tennessee, held in Clayborn Temple AME Church, 280 Hernando, Memphis, CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE and some 40 of his followers, passed out a 5-page Mimeograph pamphlet entitled, "Afro-American Brotherhood Speaks, Black Thesis, Black Power." It criticized all of the Negro moderates, referring to them as "Uncle Toms." It said white patrolmen patrol black neighborhoods for the purpose of cracking heads. It said blacks are being drafted to fight a war which "we have no stake in," and "We won't get anything out of it, if this country does win." It said

that "black brothers and sisters" are being shot down in the streets of Detroit and Newark, and that the sanitation workers were sprayed with Mace by the Memphis Police Department (February 23, 1968). It said SNCC Chairman, H. RAP BROWN, is being made the object of American revenge and that "Because of his militant stand, his dedication to the fight for black liberation, white America is trying to do to him what it would like to do to the rest of the black people in this country. The ultimate price he will pay will be his life." It added, "There is presently occurring within this country the initial phases of a black revolution." It praised riots or rebellions which have taken place in many United States cities within the past five years. It said, "Black people in America are a suppressed minority which has been exploited and misused for 400 years. The black man has never been freed from slavery."

In referring to the current sanitation strike involving 1,300 Negro workers, it claimed that "(1) The civil rights tactics of '63' are not sufficient in the form of pressure on political structures and dealing with the extreme violent reaction of city powers in this community. (2) The black masses as always have to assume the crippling blow dealt the community when it is negotiated for over and by self-appointed, part-time civil rights and part-time preachers, who inevitably quit the struggle too soon. (3) In 1968 very few of the old line civil righters are willing to accept the pressures of the time change and apply these to the resistance of their followers. Civil disobedience implies an entirely new set of priorities and responsibilities, the latter of which our 'leadership' can no longer accept." It derided the leadership being given in the strike by a group of Negro ministers (Memphis Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance). It said that instead of this "there must be some real fighting. We all know the preachers can't fight or won't fight."

It then contained a reprint of "A Letter from H. RAP BROWN in Prison," quoted as follows:

'Parish Prison  
New Orleans, La.  
2/21/68

"Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life and one loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

"No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

"For every day I am imprisoned I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

"I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs-- that black people must be free. The government has taken the position true to its fascist nature: Those who we cannot convert we must silence. This government has become the enemy of mankind.

"Death can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression. We must open others.

"Our will to live must no longer supersede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire freedom is not enough.

"For every Orangeburg there must be 10 Detroits. For every MAX STANFORD (head of the Revolutionary Action Movement) and HUEY NEWTON (head of Black Panther Society), there must be 10 dead racist cops, and for every black death there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

"Brothers and sisters, and all oppressed people, you must prepare yourself both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation is yet to come. You must fight. It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders or systems. The laws to govern you must be made by you.

"May the deaths of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country. I do what I must out of love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

"America: if it takes my death to organize my people against you, and to organize your jails to revolt against you, and to revolt against you, and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life! But my soul belongs to my people.

"Laisme Tushinda Mbilashaka  
(We shall conquer without a doubt.)

"H. RAP BROWN"

✓ Directly beneath this in the pamphlet was a drawing captioned, "Molotov Cocktail," consisting of a drawing of a bottle, with a plain rag set down inside the neck into a liquid shown as gasoline. The bottom of the bottle was shown to contain dirt or washing powder. The top of the rag (wick) was shown as protruding from the top of the neck of the bottle to be lighted.

(T-1, 3/6/68 and 3/7/68)

On March 5, 1968, Captain J. G. RAY, Inspectional Bureau, Memphis Police Department, advised that CHARLES L. CABBAGE, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, and about eight of their followers distributed copies of the above-referred-to document. This issue did not contain the Molotov cocktail drawing.

On February 15, 1968, CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, male Negro, residing 2507 Fontaine Road, Memphis, Tennessee, was interviewed by SAs HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE. He recalled his recent trip to the FBI Office in Memphis with CHARLES L. CABBAGE and his interview, along with CABBAGE, by SAs WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE and ORVILLE V. JOHNSON.

J TAYLOR readily admitted his strong belief in and support of black power in Memphis, the name of which he said is Black Organizing Power (BOP). He said that he, along with CHARLES L. CABBAGE and JOHN BURRELL SMITH, are among the main leaders in Memphis and are a part of what he called the "Coordinating Committee" or "Governing Body." He said he was not at liberty to name others on this Coordinating Committee.

TAYLOR advised that the BOP has as its aims the following:

1. To teach Negro or black identity;
2. To uplift blacks;
3. To teach Negro or black history;
4. To improve black physical education and physical fitness;
5. To stimulate black consciousness, particularly among black college students.

TAYLOR stated this will be brought about through seminars, personal contacts, and Mimeograph or printed "throw-aways" which can be distributed.

TAYLOR claimed 10 per cent of the Negro population in Memphis is ready to "explode" at any moment into disruptive riotous activity as they feel their situation of poverty, lack of chance and lack of education, combines to put them in a hopeless situation to the point where they have developed a mental outlook where "They have everything to gain and nothing to lose by revolting." When questioned as to details and specifics, he could not or would not furnish same.

TAYLOR said that Negro attorney A. W. WILLIS, JR., has helped the BOP draw up a charter and it is or has been chartered with the State of Tennessee in Nashville. When asked to see a copy, TAYLOR said he was not authorized to exhibit same and that he would first have to get the permission of the "Governing Body." He said the BOP is affiliated with SNCC but denied it is formally a SNCC chapter. He said that CHARLES L. CABBAGE who he claimed recently graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta makes frequent trips to Atlanta to SNCC headquarters and that, in fact, around the end of January, 1968, CABBAGE attended a big SNCC conference in Atlanta at which RON KARENGA, Mau Mau leader of Los Angeles, California, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former SNCC Chairman, were present.

TAYLOR said that he was to have attended this conference but that his wife's mother died in Augusta, Georgia, and he had to go there, instead, for the funeral. He said that from time to time SNCC personnel and other black nationalist leaders from "up North" come through Memphis and contact BOP leaders.



TAYLOR advised that CABBAGE always brings multiple copies of SNCC and black power literature with him when he returns from his trips to Atlanta. He claimed that CABBAGE flew back from his last trip to Atlanta.

He said CABBAGE has not worked since August 31, 1967, when he went off the payroll of the Memphis Area Project - South (MAPS). He said that CABBAGE has a girl friend in Atlanta, Georgia, one ANN GOLAR, who is employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Atlanta. She allegedly makes about \$750 a month and gives about half of this money to CABBAGE. In fact, TAYLOR stated that it was her blue Mustang which CABBAGE drove in Memphis in November and December, 1967. He drove it while ANN GOLAR attended a special antipoverty school for several weeks at Vanderbilt University.

TAYLOR said there is a lot of talk about Negro revolt and that he and his BOP associates cannot be responsible for what other blacks may say. He said that CABBAGE has been threatened and may leave town as a result, explaining that recently when CABBAGE went to Memphis State University to attempt to organize a black power movement, some white student on the Memphis State campus threatened CABBAGE with a gun.

TAYLOR admitted that when CABBAGE and his former associate, male Negro COBY VERNON SMITH, now a Southwestern College student, came to Memphis in late June or early July, 1967, that they made some intemperate statements such as that Memphis needed a good riot and should "burn." He said they did this to scare Memphians into realizing that inequities in the black community needed correcting and that they really did not mean to start a riot or to burn the city.

TAYLOR claimed CABBAGE and the BOP are trying to help young unemployed Negroes get off the street and to get jobs.

TAYLOR cited DONNIE DELANEY, young male Negro, a Carver High School graduate, as an example. He said that the BOP got DELANEY interested in BOP and educated him regarding his black identity and that he is now one of their most devoted followers. He said that until CABBAGE came back to

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Memphis, JOHN BURRELL SMITH, an Air Force veteran and now an Owen College student, was "drinking up" all his money, whereas, through the influence of CABBAGE, JOHN BURRELL SMITH is now a devoted BOP leader, especially on the Owen College campus.

TAYLOR said that the "Invaders" is not a separate entity but that the word "Invaders" is merely a name adopted by JOHN SMITH, DONNIE DELANEY, and basic followers of CHARLES CABBAGE and BOP. A lot of young Negroes, he said, have put the letters "Invaders" on their jackets as a symbol of their belief in black power and their following of the teachings of CHARLES CABBAGE.

TAYLOR said that he, his older brother EDWARD TAYLOR, JR., CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH all went to Carver High School in Memphis together, that they all played on the same football team, and that they all had a great mutual respect and affinity for each other.



## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date 1/11/68

Two male Negroes identifying themselves as CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE, residence 1924 Rile, Memphis, Tennessee, Telephone No. 942-3755, and CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR, 2507 Fontaine, Memphis, Tennessee, Telephone Number 948-4634, appeared in the Memphis, Tennessee, office of the FBI, 841 Federal Office Building.

CABBAGE was the spokesman. He stated his and TAYLOR's purpose in coming to the office was to complain of the fact that the FBI and Memphis Police Department had been making inquiries about them and had been interviewing some of their associates and that this was causing them to lose followers, supporters and financial contributors. CABBAGE described himself as unemployed, claiming to be a 1967 graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, and claiming to have a B.A. degree. TAYLOR said he is unemployed and is living with his parents.

CABBAGE then admitted that during the Summer and Fall of 1967 he had made statements to the effect that "Memphis should be burned" and that "Memphis should have a good race riot." He said he did not mean these things literally, but was saying them in an effort to shock Memphians into doing something to help financially impoverished Negroes. He predicted, however, without offering any proof or stating any basis in fact, that Memphis could well have racial trouble.

TAYLOR and CABBAGE stated they are not formal members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), as for all practical purposes this group is merely a "paper group." CABBAGE and TAYLOR said, however, that they are great admirers of H. RAP BROWN, current national SNCC Chairman, and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, BROWN's predecessor, and generally agreed with all publicly reported statements attributed to BROWN and CARMICHAEL. They would not elaborate.

CABBAGE said he is the unofficial leader of ~~the Memphis Black Power movement. He described it as an~~ "organization of black militants arising in the community."

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On 1/5/68 at Memphis, Tennessee File # Memphis 100-4528

SAs ORVILLE V. JOHNSON and  
by WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE: WHL:wp:gmh Date dictated 1/5/68

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He talked in riddles and with oblique phrases such as "We want a programmatical approach to the programs" and "We must take a problematical approach to the problem." He said his is a program of "self construction." CABBAGE added that he and his supporters, not further identified by name, "contact young black cats (male Negroes) to establish dialogue with them and to educate them as to their black heritage." He said there is no such thing as a Negro; that people of dark skin are "black people." CABBAGE claims to hope to establish in Memphis a Black Peoples' group such as PRIDE, Inc., in Washington, D. C.

CABBAGE and TAYLOR were noncommittal as to their specific and fundamental programs or teachings other than to claim they are forming a "militant black youth."

CABBAGE berated what he termed as "old line black leadership" personified, he said, by the NAACP and the Urban League, claiming that these groups are a collective composite of "Uncle Toms." They are, he said, aligned with white liberals who give them financial support and they are thus beholden to the whites. He claimed the smart blacks are now forming their own exclusively black financial and political bases, with the result that such old line groups as the NAACP tend to thwart and alienate support which otherwise might go to the newer militant black power groups such as his. He said there is a loose affiliation of black power groups all over the country. There are all "soul brothers" and they share common ideas, resources and programs, he said. He would not elaborate.

CABBAGE and TAYLOR said they have organized black power groups at LeMoyné College, Owen College, and Memphis State University, all in Memphis, to work politically and economically. They said they never go onto a college campus unless they are invited.

CABBAGE and TAYLOR complained that the investigative interest shown by the FBI in their activities was thwarting their efforts, that they were having difficulty in holding their followers, and that they would have difficulty, if they so chose, to obtain employment. Both wore jackets with leather tongue-lacing at the chest and neck area. CABBAGE wears his hair in a long natural Afro style. TAYLOR's hair was shorter.

On February 16, 1968, CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE volunteered to SA's HOWELL S. LOWE and WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that he is the head of a Black Power organization in Memphis known as Black Organizing Power (BOP). He introduced the Governing Body of BOP as:

EDWINA JEANETTA HARRELL, Negro female, residence 2418 Gentry, Memphis, student, Memphis State University;

JOHN BURRELL SMITH, male Negro, 1644 Hanauer, Apartment 2, Memphis, student, Owen College, Memphis;

JAMES ELMORE PHILLIPS, male Negro, 1592 Short Street, student, Lemoyne College, Memphis;

CLINTON ROY JAMERSON, male Negro, 1397 Davis Street, student, Lemoyne College;

CHARLES HARRINGTON, male Negro, 2075 Rile Street, student, Owen College;

CHARLES S. BALLARD, male Negro, residence 1830 Kansas, student, Lemoyne College;

VERDELL BROOKS, male Negro, student, Owen College;

CURTIS CARTER, male Negro, residence 377 East McLemore, student, Lemoyne College.

CABBAGE added that CLIFFORD LOUIS TAYLOR is also a member of the Governing Body and his brother, EDWARD REED TAYLOR, is a follower.

CABBAGE claimed he, CABBAGE, is the impetus of the Black Power movement in Memphis and that his main purpose is to stimulate, in young Negroes, a sense of black identity, black pride, and black consciousness, to create in the blacks an independent spirit, to cease to be dependent upon and influenced by the white race. He claimed he has stimulated the development of Black Power units on three Memphis colleges, namely, the Black Student Association (BSA) at Memphis State University; the Afro-American Brotherhood (AAB) at Owen College; and BOP at Lemoyne College.

CABBAGE exhibited various Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) posters and booklets which, he said, he distributes to prospective followers. One was a caricature of Uncle Sam pointing his finger. It was captioned, "Uncle Sam Wants You, Nigger," and contained various statements to show the Negro that he should not fight in Vietnam. Another was one of speeches of STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

CABBAGE said his followers have issued various mimeographed pamphlets at MSU, Owen, and Lemoyne, and he stated that in the future all would clearly show thereon that they were being issued by BOP, Afro-American Brotherhood, or Black Student Association.

CABBAGE said he regularly services these campus groups, giving them aid, comfort, guidance, and counsel, but that they operate independently of each other, although they help each other and give each other support, and are a part of the over-all BOP.

CABBAGE claimed BOP is now a chartered group and has obtained a State Charter.

He claimed not to have a presentable copy.

He disclaimed any advocacy of violence, except that necessary for self defense. He claimed they are being harassed, followed and intimidated by unknown groups. CABBAGE claimed he is constantly followed by unknown forces who apparently want to stop him or deter his activities.

CABBAGE claimed he had spent the morning of February 16, 1968, on the MSU campus counseling and advising unidentified Negro students as to how they could become active student leaders and work in the Student Government Association and create a black consciousness on the MSU campus.

CABBAGE said his group followed the teachings of SNCC, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, H. RAP BROWN (SNCC Chairman), but said BOP did not necessarily exist as a formal SNCC unit. He was evasive but did admit frequent trips to Atlanta, the national headquarters of SNCC.

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of nonviolence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals," the principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

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MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

APPENDIX

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Boardway and 166th Street, New York City.



NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as  
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as  
Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

NATION OF ISLAM

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF)

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 12, 1947. In the same house report, "The Southern Patriot," was cited as an "organ" of the SCHW.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW dated April 26, 1946, changed its name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Incorporated (SCEF) and stated its purpose to be to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions and ideals.

The masthead of the April, 1967, issue of "The Southern Patriot" indicates that it is the publication of SCEF, editorial and business offices of which are located at 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, Eastern Office of which is located at Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York City, New York. "The Southern Patriot" is published once each month, except July. The SCEF is stated to be dedicated to ending discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex, national origin or economic condition.

Carl Braden is identified as Executive Director of SCEF and Anne Braden as editor of "The Southern Patriot."

Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted former member of the Communist Party (CP), Louisville, Kentucky, testified on December 11, and 13, 1954, in Jefferson County, Kentucky Criminal Court in a state sedition prosecution against Carl James Braden. She identified Carl Braden and his wife, Anne McCarty Braden, as having been known to her as members of the CP from January, 1951, to December, 1954.

The SCEF is self-described as having deep roots in the South where it began as the educational wing of the SCHW, organized in 1938 to work for economic and political reform. When the SCHW disbanded in the late 1940's, SCEF

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (continued):

continued as an independent organization, rallying support for integration and democracy and helping to stimulate and nurture new movements of the early 1960's. The SCEF maintained headquarters in Louisiana for twenty years, but in 1966 moved its headquarters to Louisville, Kentucky.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that Claude Lightfoot, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 3, 1966, that during the time that the SCHW was in existence, members of the Communist Party were members of and worked actively in the SCHW; however, since the formation of the SCEF, Communist Party members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated that the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a Communist Party front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial issue.

A third source advised on May 25, 1965, that George Meyers, a Communist Party functionary, expressed great admiration for Carl and Anne Braden and the SCEF, with which they are affiliated, and expressed the view that the SCEF is the best organization in the South as far as doing effective work is concerned and that they have a better idea of what they are doing, where they are heading, and influence other organizations for the better.

The second source also advised on June 3, 1966, that many people who are officials and supporters of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists,

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Memphis, Tennessee  
March 25, 1968

**Title:** CHARLES LAVERNE CABBAGE

**Character:** SECURITY MATTER - SNCC;  
RACIAL MATTERS

**Reference:** Report of SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE  
dated and captioned as above at  
Memphis, Tennessee

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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